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UNCLE TOM'S CABIN; OR, LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.

BY MRS. H. B. STOWE.

CHAPTER XLII.—Continued.

George's feelings and views, as an educated man, may be best expressed in a letter to one of his friends:

"I feel somewhat at a loss, as to my future course. True, as you have said to me, I might mingle in the circles of the whites, in this country, my shade of color is so slight, and that of my wife and family so perceptible. Well, perhaps, on suzerainty, I might. But, to tell you the truth, I have no wish to."

"My sympathies are not for my father's race, but for my mother's. To him I was more than a fine dog or horse; to my poor mother, broken-hearted mother, I was a child, though I never saw her, after the cruel slave that separated us, till she died, yet I know she always loved me dearly. I know it by my own heart. When I think of all she suffered, of my own early sufferings, of the distresses and struggles of my heroic wife, of my sister, sold in the New Orleans slave-market—though I hope to have no unchristian sentiments, yet I may be excused for saying I have no wish to pass for an American, or to identify myself with them."

"It is with the oppressed, enslaved African race that I cast in my lot; and if I wished anything, I would wish myself two shades darker, rather than one lighter."

"The desire and yearning of my soul is for an African nationality. I want a people that shall have a tangible, separate existence of its own; and where am I to look for it? Not in Hayti; for in Hayti they had nothing to start with. A stream of colored people has been poured into the race that formed the character of the Haytiens was a worn-out, effeminate one; and, of course, the subject race will be centuries in rising to anything."

"Where, then, shall I look? On the shores of Africa I see a republic—a republic formed of picked men, who, by energy and self-education, have raised themselves above a condition of slavery. Having gone through a preparatory stage of feebleness, this republic has, at last, become an acknowledged nation on the face of the earth—acknowledged by both France and England. There it is my wish to go, and find myself a people."

"I am aware, now, that I shall have you all against me; but, before you strike, hear me. During my stay in France, I have followed up, with intense interest, the history of my people in America. I have seen the struggle between abolitionist and colonizationist, and have received some impressions, as a distant spectator, which could never have occurred to me as a participator."

"I grant that this Liberia may have subserved all sorts of purposes, by being played off in the hands of our oppressors against us. Doubtless the scheme may have been used, in unjustifiable ways, as a means of retarding our emancipation. But the question to me is, Is there not a God above all man's schemes? May He not have overruled their designs, and founded for us a nation by them?"

"In these days, a nation is born in a day. A nation starts, now, with all the great problems of republican life and civilization wrought out to its hand; it has not to discover, but only to apply. Let us, then, all take hold together, with all our united strength, and we can do this with new enterprise, and the whole system has a right to argue, remonstrate, implore, and present, the cause of its race, which an individual has not."

"If Europe ever becomes a grand council of free nations—as I trust in God it will—if there are no unjust and oppressive social inequalities are done away; and if they, France and England have done, acknowledge our position, then, in the great Congress of Nations we will make our appeal, and present the cause of our enslaved and suffering race, and it cannot be that free, enlightened America will not then desire to wipe from her southern soil that barbarous traffic, which distorts her among nations, and is as truly a curse to her as to the enslaved."

"Do you say that I am deserting my enslaved brethren? I think not. If I forget them one hour, one moment of my life, so may God forget me! But, what can I do for them here? Can I break their chains? No, not as an individual; but let me go and form part of a nation, which shall have a voice in the councils of nations, and then we can speak with a right to argue, remonstrate, implore, and present, the cause of its race, which an individual has not."

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expect to work with both hands; to work hard; to work against all sorts of difficulties and discouragements; and to work till I die. This is what I go for; and in this I am quite sure I shall not be disappointed."

"Whatever you may think of my determination, do not divorce me from your confidence; and think that, in whatever I do, I act with a heart wholly given to my people."

"GEORGE HARRIS."

George, with his wife, children, and sister, embarked for Africa some few weeks after. If we are not mistaken, the world will yet hear from the success of their mission.

Of our other characters we have nothing very particular to write, except a word relating to Miss Ophelia and Topey, and a farewell chapter, which we shall dedicate to George Shelby.

Miss Ophelia took Topey home to Vermont with her, and the surprise of that grave, deliberative body with a New Englander, recognises under the term "Our folks." "Our folks" at first thought it an odd and unnecessary addition to their well-trained domestic establishment; but, so thoroughly efficient was Miss Ophelia, and her domestic endeavor to do her duty by her slave, that the child rapidly grew in grace and in favor with the family and neighborhood. At the age of womanhood, she was, by her own request, baptized, and became a member of the Christian church in the place, and showed so much intelligence, activity, and zeal, and desire to do good in the world, that she was at last recommended and approved as a missionary to one of the stations in Africa; and we have heard that the same activity and ingenuity which, when a child, made her so multifarious and restless in her development, in a safer and more wholesome manner, in teaching the children of her own country.

CHAPTER XLIII.—The Liberator.

George Shelby had written to his mother merely a line, stating the day that she might expect him home. Of the death scene of his old friend he had not the heart to write. He had tried several times, and only succeeded in half-choking himself, and finally finished by tearing up the paper, wiping his eyes, and rushing somewhere to get quiet.

There was a pleasant bustle all through the Shelby mansion that day, in expectation of the arrival of young master's George.

Mrs. Shelby was seated in her comfortable parlor, where a cheerful, merry fire was dispelling the chill of the late autumn evening. A superlative, glittering with plate and cut glass, was set out, over whose arrangements her former friend, old Chloe, was presiding.

Arrayed in a new calico dress, with clean, white apron, and high starched turban, her black polished face glowing with satisfaction, she lingered, with needless punctiliousness, around the arrangements of the table, merely as an excuse for talking a little to her mistress.

"Laws, now! won't it look natural to him?" she said. "There—I set his plate just where he likes it—youd by the fire. Mass' George allers wants de warm seat. O, go away! why didn't Sally get out de best tea-pest—de little new one mass' George got for missis, Christ-mas! I'll have it out! And missis has heard from mass' George?" she said, inquiringly.

"Yes, yes, but only a line, just to say he would be home to-night, if he could—tats' all."

"Didn't say nothin' 'bout my old man, s'pose?" said Chloe, still fidgeting with the tea-cups.

"No, he didn't. He did not speak of anything, Chloe. He said he would tell all when he got home."

"Jos like mass' George—he's allers so force for tellin' everything himself. I allers minded dat in mass' George. Don't see, for my part, how white people gen'ly can do that to write, onee kin' of work."

Mrs. Shelby smiled.

"I'm a thinkin' my old man won't know de boys and de baby. Lor! she's de biggest gal now, good she is, too! and pet, Polly is. She's out to de house, now, watchin' de hoe-ecake. It's gettin' de very pattern my old man liked so much, a bakin'. Just sich as I gin him de mornin' he was took off. Lord bless us! how I did dat ar mornin'!"

Mrs. Shelby sighed, and felt a heavy weight on her heart, at this allusion. She had felt uneasy ever since she received her son's letter, lest something should prove to be hidden behind the veil of silence which he had drawn.

"Missis has got them bills?" said Chloe, anxiously.

"Yes, Chloe."

"Cause I want to show my old man dem very bills de perfectioner gave me. And, says he, 'Chloe, with you'd longer be a slave, I thank you mass'; says I, 'I would, only my old man's coming home, and missis—she can't do without me no longer.' There's just what I told him. Berry nice man, dat mass' Jones was."

Chloe had pertinaciously insisted that the matter, from the incidents following her capture of the Pearl. We extract the following from the speech of Hon. Horace Mann, one of the legal counsel for the defendants in that case. He says: "In that company of seventy-six persons, who attempted, in 1848, to escape from the District of Columbia, in the schooner Pearl, and whose officers assisted in their escape, there were several young and healthy girls, who had those peculiar attractions of form and feature which connoisseurs prize so highly. Elizabeth Russel was one of them. She immediately fell into the slave-trader's fangs, and was destined for the New Orleans market. The hearts of those that saw her were touched with pity for her fate. They offered eighteen hundred dollars to redeem her; and some there who were offered to give, that would not have much left after the gift; but the fiend of a slave-trader was inexorable. She had been taken to New Orleans, but when about half way there, God had mercy on her, and snote her with death. There were two girls named Edmundson in the same company. When about to be sent to the same market, an older sister went to the shambles, to plead with the wretch who owned them, for the love of God, to spare his victim. He bawled her, telling what fine dresses and fine furniture they would have. 'Yes,' she said, 'that may do very well in this life, but what will become of them in the next?' They two were sent to New Orleans, but were afterwards redeemed, at an enormous ransom, and brought back to the place from which they had been snatched. Edmundson and Casey may have many counterparts."

Justice, too, obliges the author to state that the fairness of mind and generosity attributed to St. Clare are not without a parallel, as the following passage from the incidents following her capture of the Pearl. We extract the following from the speech of Hon. Horace Mann, one of the legal counsel for the defendants in that case. He says: "In that company of seventy-six persons, who attempted, in 1848, to escape from the District of Columbia, in the schooner Pearl, and whose officers assisted in their escape, there were several young and healthy girls, who had those peculiar attractions of form and feature which connoisseurs prize so highly. Elizabeth Russel was one of them. She immediately fell into the slave-trader's fangs, and was destined for the New Orleans market. The hearts of those that saw her were touched with pity for her fate. They offered eighteen hundred dollars to redeem her; and some there who were offered to give, that would not have much left after the gift; but the fiend of a slave-trader was inexorable. She had been taken to New Orleans, but when about half way there, God had mercy on her, and snote her with death. There were two girls named Edmundson in the same company. When about to be sent to the same market, an older sister went to the shambles, to plead with the wretch who owned them, for the love of God, to spare his victim. He bawled her, telling what fine dresses and fine furniture they would have. 'Yes,' she said, 'that may do very well in this life, but what will become of them in the next?' They two were sent to New Orleans, but were afterwards redeemed, at an enormous ransom, and brought back to the place from which they had been snatched. Edmundson and Casey may have many counterparts."

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Free-Sellers are concerned; and only Scott is left. What of him? He seems as yet to stand in a doubtful position; or rather his friends wish to make his position appear doubtful. We think, however, so far as the Compromise measures are concerned, there is but little doubt. Southern politicians almost universally concede that he was and is favorable to those measures; but they claim more of him—they claim that before they will give him their support he must come out openly and avowedly on their side. This he will probably refuse to do, and consequently will receive their united opposition. But will he show his hand, so that the friends of liberty at the North can have confidence in him? This is not at all likely, for two reasons: first, because, so far as we have the means of judging, his inclinations are all the other way; and, second, because if he should, it would kill the last lingering prospect he may have in the Whig party for a nomination.

We conclude, then, that neither of the two leading parties will present a candidate that the real Free-Sellers can support. What shall they do? This is an important question. We are glad to know that the Free Soil party is not disbanding—that it has a National Committee, and that Committee has determined to call a Convention to nominate candidates if necessary. We rejoice at this, because we expect that thousands, and perhaps hundreds of thousands of voters will have no party candidates that they can conscientiously vote for, unless the Free Soil party presents such candidates. We think, then, that the duty of those who place confidence above party organization is plain. It is to be governed by high moral principles in their political action—to vote for no man who will not give his personal and official influence to advance those public measures which they consider paramount to all others; and if no party presents such candidates, then to vote for candidates of their own nomination. There are probably hundreds of thousands of voters who make the slavery issues paramount to all others. Shall they vote for men who will go diametrically opposite to their principles on this question? We are not of those who believe the voter should require his candidate to agree with him on all questions; but he certainly should require such agreement on the main question; and especially so if the main question is more important than all others put together. Whatever course parties may take, we are confident there is a great work for the Free-Sellers to do who are governed by high and immutable principles in their political conduct. Let them be true to their trust.

From the Green Mountain (Vt.) Freeman.

APATHY OF FREE-SOILERS.

Many leading men of the old parties have with an air of triumph asserted within our hearing, during the last six months, that "the Free Soil party was not a dead concern," "that the spirit which once animated it in opposition to slavery and its aggressions was obviously gone, and that a great majority of its members were evidently sick of the subject, and only waiting for a decent opportunity to abandon the cause altogether." These are the words of slavery men, what say you to such charges? Do you deny the impeachment? "Certainly we do," will doubtless be your response; "we are as firm in our principles as ever." As a general thing, we believe you; but are you not, by your apathy, these days giving your opponents too much ground in the vile game of political putings? We greatly fear so; but from what cause can such apathy proceed? Are the great principles of freedom and right less important now than formerly? Is the declaration of independence, alike the foundation of our truly national platform, and the solemn pledge under which we live, less sacred and obligatory? Are its principles less violated, and the rights it secures less endangered? Is the Proviso, or Jefferson Ordinance, less loudly demanded? Is the slave power weaker, or its aggressions less alarming? Is our Government less perverted by its influence? Is the country less subservient to its designs and its less in its widely extended machinations? No, no; a thousand times no! The great principles of freedom and right are the same, because founded on the rock of eternal justice, and their splendor is every day made more glorious and striking in the vile game of political putings. The Declaration of Independence still stands the admitted creed of the nation, and its principles guaranteed by the Constitution are still as obligatory as the solemn oaths we have taken to support it can make them; while the great principles of both those instruments have been violated during the two past years with a boldness and extent that marks the period as an era of national corruption and disgrace. If the adoption of the Jefferson Ordinance was called for in 1845, as the great masses of the North almost universally conceded, it is a hundred fold more demanded now, when nearly every square mile of all the territory acquired from Mexico is being peopled with slaves. If the slave power was then deemed strong, and its aggressions alarming, what should be thought of it now, when it is comparatively but a rivulet has swelled to a deluge, and is threatening to inundate the whole land, and overthrow the very citadel itself of American freedom? If our Government was then thought too subservient to the slave power, how should it be looked upon now, when its almost unbounded energies are so employed in strengthening that power, and helping it to establish its complete ascendancy over both our National and State Institutions? Nor is this all; the slave power and the Governmental power have conspired to enlist a third—the commercial and money power of the North—which, neutral then, is now becoming more difficult to contend with successfully than either the others, or perhaps both combined.

If all this be so, have Free-Sellers nothing to do? Is not what might once perhaps be a primary moral sentiment become a duty involving public action now? Are not the oaths to support the Constitution now connected with the duty of public action under such circumstances? Ponder it, freemen of the North—make it a subject of your pillow reflections, and decide for yourselves whether apathy and indifference be longer indulged in, even to say nothing of the wrongs of the South, and the love of a free Government, and your sworn duty to maintain it; and whether, finally, you can be longer inactive and be held guiltless at the bar of conscience, or escape the curses of your posterity, for what may be forever lost through your supineness and lack of exertion.

CALL FOR AN ANTI-SLAVERY CHRISTIAN CONVENTION.

Christianity is the remedy provided by God for all the wants of the world—political, social, and spiritual! The church of Jesus Christ is the divinely appointed agency to apply this remedy. This duty is not confined to the truth, and by the consistent holy lives of her members.

When the church becomes remiss in duty, and ceases to bear a decided testimony against every form of sin, the effect upon the world soon becomes apparent.

That this is the case, so far as regards the larger popular organizations, is but too manifest. There is not only a great want of point in their testimony against the great sins of the country, but to an alarming extent a direct participation in and advocacy of these wrongs. This is especially true of the sin of slavery.

Believing that Christians are called upon to put forth a special effort to stay the tide of pro-slavery and other corrupting influences that seem to be desolating the popular churches of the land, and sweeping away the very foundations of morality, it is resolved to hold an Anti-Slavery Christian Convention in Cambridge, on the first Tuesday of May, at 3 o'clock P. M.

The object of the Convention is to devise the best means of bringing the moral power of the church to bear in the overthrow of the strong holds of sin, and the dissemination of a pure Gospel.

The call is extended to all the Ministers and members of all evangelical churches, not engaged in the practice of slaveholding.

Ministers. ANDREW BLACK, JR., THOMAS BROWN, W. M. WILKINSON, JAMES R. DOIG, GEO. RICHIE, LUKE DEWITT, — HORTON, J. S. POAGE, THOMAS M. FINNEY, D. CRAIG, THOMAS MERRILL, and many others.

P. S. Free Presbyterians, and other papers friendly, please copy.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1852.

Subscribers who do not file the *Era*, and have numbers 261, 262, 264, and 265, on hand, will confer a favor by remitting them to this office, at our expense.

OLE BULL.—Of the Concert given by this wonderful performer, our friend, Grace Greenwood, discourses at large in her letter.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

Mrs. Stowe has at last brought her great work to a close. The last chapters appear in this week's *Era*. With our consent, the Boston publishers issued an edition of five thousand on the 20th of March, but it has already been exhausted, and another edition of five thousand has appeared.

We do not recollect any production of an American writer that has excited more profound and general interest. Since the commencement of its publication in our columns, we have received literally thousands of testimonials from our renewing subscribers, to its unsurpassed ability.

We hope that this grand work of fiction may not be the last service to be rendered by Mrs. Stowe to the cause of Freedom, through the columns of the *National Era*.

Copies of this work are for sale at this office. Price, in paper covers, \$1; cloth, \$1.50; cloth, full gilt, \$2.

Persons at a distance of not over 500 miles can have this work mailed to them, free of postage, on addressing L. Clephane, at this office, and enclosing \$1 in money and 24 cents in postage stamps; over 500 miles, the postage will be forty-eight cents.

A NEW WORK.

We shall soon commence the publication of a new novel, from the German of Jeannie Marie, entitled, Rank and Nobility, translated for the *National Era* by Dr. ATLEE, of Philadelphia, whose death is just announced in the papers of that city. Dr. Atlee was an excellent scholar, a man of pure taste, sound principles, and large benevolence. The translation announced is his last literary labor, and the work is one full of rich and varied interest, and abounding in the noblest truths. It will probably run through twelve or thirteen numbers of the *Era*.

Beside this, we have on hand several other contributions of great value, which will appear as fast as we can make room for them.

THE POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE WHIG PARTY.

The time for the National Whig Convention is not yet fixed. Some doubt whether such a Convention will be held at all; but we do not agree with them. Politicians at Washington may hesitate; the party is decided. Many State Conventions have already appointed delegates, and the Whig Press seems unanimous.

As to the candidates, there is less trouble from personal preferences than we find from Democrats. Only three are mentioned—Fillmore, Scott, and Webster, and their friends, are severely forbearing towards each other, studiously avoiding comparisons calculated to provoke incurable animosities. To this remark the letter of Mr. Clay furnishes an exception, expressing, as it does, doubts of the ability of either Webster or Scott, to discharge the duties of the Presidential office, with a wisdom and energy equal to those displayed by the present Administration.

All three substantially occupy the same position in relation to the Compromise and Fugitive Law, only that Gen. Scott not having been demonstrated by acts, or defined authoritatively by his own words, has enough uncertainty about it to give him the benefit of a doubt in the eyes of those Northern men, whose maxim is, to choose the least of evils. For this reason he is the favorite of the Northern Whigs, as Mr. Fillmore is of the Southern. Mr. Webster is not the first choice of either; but in the event of a fixed disagreement between the two sections, may slip into the candidature.

The fear that Mr. Fillmore might be utterly rejected by the Whigs of New York, is all that throws a cloud over the prospects of his nomination. Could the Convention persuade itself that he would have at least an equal chance with the Democratic candidate, of obtaining the vote of the State, it would nominate him.

With Fillmore or Webster for the standard-bearer, the Whig party could go into the Presidential contest without any "platform." Their acts have not been done in a corner. No words could make their principles and policy better known than they are. The South could trust them—the North could not doubt itself in relation to them. The supporters of either would by that act demonstrate beyond a doubt their loyalty to the Compromise and Fugitive Law.

But Southern Whigs are anxious for success. Patronage has almost as many attractions for them as principle. They cannot shut their eyes to the fact that these, their special favorites, are of doubtful political standing at the North—that probably neither could command the full Whig strength of that section. What shall they do? Accept General Scott? The politicians would not hesitate, but could they rally the masses of the Southern Whigs in his support? And what to them is more important, could they maintain their own position at home, under such leadership? With Scott, undefined and unpledged, as Taylor was, never! But give them a platform satisfactory to the Slave Power, let the General plant himself on that, and they would be safe. Consulting Southern sentiment, however, they might divert their candidate of his strength in the North, and so lose all that induced them to accept him in the place of Fillmore or Webster.

Meantime, an attempt is to be made to satisfy the South, by indirect information concerning Gen. Scott's opinions, which, it is hoped, may disarm the jealousy of one section without provoking the displeasure of the other. In Congress there are Southern men, who affirm positively the adherence of the General to the Compromise, and no Northern member denies it. There are Southern newspapers that do the same, and no Northern newspaper denies it. The most explicit testimony we have is that of a Washington correspondent of the *Nashville Banner*, which we copy from the Baltimore Sun:

Gen. Scott and the Compromise.—The General's Position Defined.—A Washington correspondent of the *Nashville Banner* recently had an interview with Gen. Scott, who, it is alleged, is indignant at the charge made in some of the newspapers that his position in regard to the Compromise measures is ambiguous. According to this writer, Gen. Scott, in his conversation with him, said:

"How can any one doubt my past or present support of the Compromise measures? Did I not, at the first meeting of the friends of the Union, held in Castle Garden, New York, proclaim my approval of them?—at a period, too, when but a few in that city advocated the propriety of their adoption. And immediately after, by my personal presence at the first great speech in their defence, made in the Senate of the United States, did not sit down at my residence in the city of New York, and write to him in substance as follows:

"I have, in my day and generation, fought battles which have gained for our common

country some little renown and glory. These, however, might have been won by other men, or if lost, would have been repaired by the inevitable clarity of a noble soldier. But the great battle which you are fighting involves all that is glorious or immortal of the present and the past—all that is dear and hopeful of the future. It is the battle of the preservation of the Union and the Constitution—the perpetuity of our republican institutions. I treat to God that you may be successful in your patriotic undertaking; for I most heartily approve of all the measures of your bill, and will give to them a cordial and energetic support."

He also addressed a similar letter, it is said, to Mr. Webster, after reading his great speech. According to the writer, General Scott also remarked to him:

"Did not, during their discussion in Congress, personally exert my influence for their passage through both Houses? Besides, there is extant the most incontestable proof, that had it not been for my humble aid and influence, the Compromise measure could not, by a vote of from five or ten, have passed the House of Representatives."

Even the Washington *Union*, anxious as it is to throw doubt on the position of General Scott, does not question the credibility of this statement; and the *New York Tribune* admits that it has no reason to doubt that he was "an early, efficient, and most zealous supporter of the Compromise." In a late editorial, favoring the nomination of the General, it holds the following language:

"For, be it ever considered, we are not asking you to support a Higher Law candidate, an opponent of the Compromise. Your organs are never weary of asserting that Gen. Scott was an early, efficient, and most zealous supporter of the Compromise, which we have no reason to wish to deny."

Will these indirect concessions to the South satisfy its requirements? Not at all. The National Convention will select either Fillmore or Webster; or, if constrained to take Scott, saddle him with the Compromise and Fugitive Law.

Suppose our prediction prove false—suppose Scott be nominated, without a platform, and that he should resolutely refuse to embarrass himself with any pledges; the Democratic candidate, on the contrary, being pledged openly, by his character, his declarations, and the action of the Democratic Convention to the Compromise and Fugitive Law—what would be the results? The loss of the Southern Whig vote, either by a junction with the Democratic, or by its being cast for another candidate. The concentration upon Scott of the entire Whig vote of the North, making a discount in some of our large cities for a few disaffected Hunkers. The support of all those Anti-Slavery voters, of Whig affinities, who have for years past been accustomed to act with their party, only when it involved no conflict with their principles on the Slavery question. Such men as Mr. Campbell of Ohio, Messrs. Mann and Fowler, of Massachusetts, and others of similar views, would probably enlist actively under such a standard-bearer. Anti-Slavery Democrats, accustomed to independent political action, might call another Convention, and nominate a candidate of their own, who would draw his support from the Democratic ranks. If they did not do this, some would vote for Scott, some, for the Free Soil candidate, should one be in the field, some, stay at home. The Free Soil party would find it exceedingly difficult amidst such distracting events, to make headway with an independent nomination. The Democratic party might be defeated, and Scott be elected by the electoral vote of the North.

But suppose, as no intelligent observer, it seems to us, can doubt, that the nominee of the Whig National Convention be Mr. Fillmore, or Mr. Webster, or General Scott, on the platform of the Compromise and the Fugitive Law, what then may we expect? The Whigs of the South would remain united, and increase their vote. The Whigs of the North, as a party, would sustain the nomination. Of this there can be no doubt. Where is there a leading Whig journal or politician at the North, who hints at resistance to such a nomination, should it be made? The Whig State Conventions in the free States have abstained from any expression of hostility to the Compromise, and have announced their determination to support the nominees of the National Convention, whoever they might be. In Congress, Southern Whigs have insisted upon the disqualification for the Presidency of any man not committed to the Compromise, and no Northern Whig has rebuked such proscription. A regular caucus of the Whig members of the House, as a preliminary to the business of organization, adopted the Compromise and Fugitive Law, as a part of the basis of party action; while not one in either branch of Congress has since then entered a formal protest against the proceedings, if we may except Messrs. Campbell and Fowler. Mr. Seward, a man looked up to by the anti-slavery Whigs of New York, has been silent the whole of this session, intimating no intention to resist the incorporation of the pro-slavery test in the party creed. That he will oppose it, we have no doubt; but that he will hazard the union of the party on the point of extreme opposition, nobody who understands the theory of political action as held by Mr. Seward, believes. There is not the slightest ground for supposing that he will not abide by the action and nominations of the National Whig Convention, whatever they may be.

Then take the New York *Tribune*, the organ pre-eminently of the anti-slavery portion of the Whig Party: it has frankly avowed its purpose to support either Mr. Fillmore or Mr. Webster, should either be the choice of the Convention. Nay, more than this—the editor, in his paper of March 20th, goes into an argument to show that "New York is not opposed to Mr. Fillmore because of his approval of the Compromise measures." He says:

"If that were the difficulty, it would be far from formidable. There are very many of our citizens who do not approve those measures, and who especially regard the Fugitive Slave Law as a wanton, useless, galling outrage on the Free spirit and humane instincts of the North. Yet the great mass of those who thus regard that law are also aware that the Constitution arms the slave-hunter with certain powers—that the whole subject is beset with difficulties, and that they have seen everything to make acquiescence in or hostility to the Fugitive Slave Law a test of political orthodoxy. At our two State Elections, which have transpired since the Compromise measures were passed, Whig friends of those measures were elected to Congress and to important State offices by the votes of Whigs personally adverse to those measures—and so on the other side. The exceptions to this rule have been few and local. Mr. Ullmann, a warm, open, leading Compromise man, was supported last fall by at least forty-nine out of every fifty anti-Compromise Whigs in the State, and we presume would be again."

There is a revelation for you. The Whigs of New York are not hostile to Mr. Fillmore because he approves of the Compromise and Fugitive Law. Not on the ground of any Principle do they oppose him. What, then, is the reason of their opposition? Listen:

"Why, then, is Mr. Fillmore obnoxious to a large majority of the Whigs of our State? We answer—Because he has seen fit to prescribe and object to the position of Austria, ancient and beloved. Whigs in the State, on account of their alleged sympathy with the anti-Compromise majority of the party—on account of their acquiescence in the declarations of principle and zealous support of the candidates of the Whig party."

So the Whigs of New York who do not relish particularly the Fugitive Law and Compromise, do not oppose Mr. Fillmore because he is their antagonist in Principle, but because he does not give them a fair share of the leaves and fishes! This is the *Tribune's* representation, not ours. Now, what does this mean? "Mr. Fillmore, Mr. Webster, or whoever you may be, give us, Whigs of a certain stripe, a fair chance at the offices, and you shall have our votes, no matter what you believe, even though you hold the doctrines of devils!"

The editor, in another part of the same article, avows his own purpose, and the reason thereof, as follows:

"If the States which can vote for no Whig candidate shall, under the vicious machinery of a National Convention, insist effectually on putting Mr. Fillmore upon us for another term, we expect to support him. For, while we cannot approve his proslavery and irritating course on the Compromise question, we do not hope for any practical alternative but a candidate equally objectionable on that head, while bitterly, fatally hostile to those vital principles of Public Policy—Protection, River and Harbor Improvement, &c., &c.—wherein we cannot approve his proslavery and irritating course on the Compromise question, we do not hope for any practical alternative but a candidate equally objectionable on that head, while bitterly, fatally hostile to those vital principles of Public Policy—Protection, River and Harbor Improvement, &c., &c.—wherein we cannot approve his proslavery and irritating course on the Compromise question, we do not hope for any practical alternative but a candidate equally objectionable on that head, while bitterly, fatally hostile to those vital principles of Public Policy—Protection, River and Harbor Improvement, &c., &c.—wherein we cannot approve his proslavery and irritating 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LITERARY NOTICES.

THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY. A Novel. By the author of "Olive and the Oliviers." New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Frank Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

We gave up yesterday to the reading of this delightful novel, and we can only speak of it in terms of grateful commendation. The story, the telling, and the characters which figure in it, are alike admirable. The style is pure, elegant, glowing; the moral tone not only unexceptionable, but noble; the interest constant and intense, without being painfully absorbing. Without racking one like that of the Jane Eyre novels, it all along constrains the attention, not by the strong grasp of passion, but by a tender hold on the heart.

In the whole range of our novel reading we never met with a character so grandly good, so sublimely because so simply unselfish and devoted, as that of Ninian Grene, "The Head of the Family;" but in real life we have seen, we know such an one.

The character of Rachel Armstrong is peculiar, powerful, and sharply defined. With a fearful depth of passion and strength of will, she is noble, even lovable, from the utter truth and proud devotion of her nature. Her hate and revenge are only next to her love and faith in their intensity and fearful beauty. There is something rarely touching in the character of "Our Sister," and indeliberately attractive in that of Hope Ansted. Simple, modest, and tender—pure as a white rose sleeping in moonlight, sending forth the sweet influences of a holy life as unconsciously as the rose breathes out perfume, we do not always feel her presence—we hardly see her—but the whole book is fragrant with her.

There are many splendid passages in this novel, a few of which we must beg leave to transcribe:

"Ninian's heart was full. He looked up at the clear sky, beneath which the service was over, they too walked, she leaning on his arm. But she did not know that he was praying. His heart, heavy with its deep love, had laid itself down at the feet of God, beseeching for her. She did not know that all the way home, while she went smiling through sunny fields, her young soul lightened of its care, his was lifting up its passionate voice, crying on Heaven to keep safety in his life. Very solemn was his prayer, not alone for the girl he loved, now tripping along in her sweet maidenhood, but for his wife, perhaps the mother of his children, his helpmeet in life's coming work, wherein all things should be done by them both for the glory of God, and that their wedding day should be a day of peace in some quiet place like this, with children's reverent tears dropping over them, waiting for the resurrection, unto that kingdom when all earthly marriage shall be done away, and that marriage only remain, which, being a union spiritual and complete, is as indissoluble as the union of soul and body." "Young men and maidens—idle dreamers of baseless dreams, which you call love, and that for a year, a month, a week—you know no more of the one true love, the one sacred marriage, than does a child who, looking at the sun's image in the water, thinks that the sun has been seen and perhaps drained dry the great ocean which rounds the world."

Here is a statement, the truth of which we recognize at once, yet which we do not remember to have met elsewhere:

"It is a sign contrary to God's ordinance, and in itself bespeaks of mysteries which mother-love is evidently the strongest devotion and the keenest happiness of a young wife's heart."

"Got over it!" Strangely do people talk of "getting over" a great sorrow—overleaping it, passing it by, thrusting it into oblivion. Not so! No one can ever get over it, but it can be touched by the feeling of grief at all. The only way is to pass through the ocean of affliction solemnly, slowly, with humility and faith, as the Israelites passed through the sea. Then its very waves of misery will divide, and become to us a wall on the right side and on the left, under the gulf narrows and narrows before our eyes, and we land safe on the opposite shore."

When we laid down this charming novel, it was with a thoroughly satisfied feeling, a pleasure we have not known since reading "David Copperfield"—not that this story can well be compared with that crowning work of Dickens; it has no wit or quaint drollery, little brilliancy of any kind, yet nevertheless it is quite as admirable in its way. In cheerful domestic scenes, in pictures of family union, of brotherly and sisterly devotion and affection, and in revelations of that deeper and diviner sentiment, love, we know of no writer who surpasses the author of "Olive" and the later work before us. G. G.

LETTERS FROM THE CAPITAL.

WASHINGTON, March 27, 1852. You have doubtless heard much, ere this, of Mr. Soule's splendid intervention speech, delivered in the Senate on Monday last. This effort, and for some time been looking forward to with unusual interest. The character of this brilliant Southern, the peculiar dramatic style of his oratory, his position in his party as regards some of the great, existing questions of the time—the questions themselves—all conspired to render his "coming out" an event of moment.

On an early hour the Senate was crowded, as I only remember it to have been during the great Compromise struggle. Mr. Soule rose, and began speaking with that quiet, deliberate dignity, that somewhat elaborate grace, so peculiar to him. His voice was pitched on a low key, and its foreign accent was for a time more than usually apparent. This quietude of manner, this elegance of word and gesture, have puzzled one then first looking on his strong French-Spanish face, and meeting the flash of his intensely dark eyes. Such tones, such action, seem no true interpreters of a powerful and passionate nature, and we can but believe them the artistic result of long study and resolute practice. In Mr. Soule we can see that will is ever supreme over impulse, and that the artist has mastered the genius. And is not this wise? for, with the consciousness of the power which genius gives, he escapes all its disagreeable results, he does not bridle with its aerial structure, he does not fly into chasms and infinite depths of thought; he but erects, here and there along his way, a slender Grecian column, or throws over it fair, ornamented arches, beneath which he walks gracefully, as to slow and somewhat solemn music. Towards the close of his speech, the manner of Mr. Soule became more impassioned, his tones grew clear and ringing, and his dark, tragic face was illuminated with enthusiasm; yet through all there was not one inelegantly-energetic action. There must be a primal "law in his members" of unerring grace, or he is finished in this respect.

The tone of this speech is brave and generous, and it contains passages of rare strength and beauty. I have never heard anything finer in the Senate Chamber than that portion of this speech beginning with these eloquent sentences:

"Sir, let us not be lulled into slumber by the idea that we are too distant from Europe to be affected by her political convulsions. Know you not that violence and oppression are contagious, and that their triumph, in any point of time, or on any point of the globe, reacts on the moral world?"

"Sir, Mr. President, speak of isolation, when you can ride your floating palaces from continent to continent in less time than it took your fathers. My years ago, to travel from Buffalo to New York, from Boston to Philadelphia? when every wave of the ocean brings you swift messengers, blown over by the breeze, or borne by the waves, and when, low as it beats, you can hear every pulsation of the European heart beneath the iron hands

that strive to compress and stifle its languid and agonizing energies?"

In a manner singularly impressive, Mr. Soule gave a most extraordinary, beautiful, and solemn prophecy of Lord Pownall. But the reverent hush which succeeded its sublime close, Mr. Cass (my shadow henceforth be lost and lost!) had the taste to break, by the exclamation, "He was on *old dog* after my own heart!" I half expected to hear cry, "Put him out!" The courtly and somewhat fastidious speaker looked staggered at first; but he turned the interruption to account in a plain, characteristic manner, actually complimenting the General—a stretch of Parliament, if you please, if not of Christian charity. Mr. Soule's peroration struck me as rather abrupt, as not so well rounded, so perfectly finished as I had expected; but it was very fine, the last sentence in especial.

Last night, Old Bull's concert came off with immense effect. There was the most brilliant audience I ever recollect to have seen in Washington. Ole Bull and his music are "one and indivisible." It is the fullest expression of his soul—the perfect utterance of the strong and jubilant confidence of his nature. He seems to create sounds absolutely new to every ear—sounds you never hope to hear elsewhere on earth, from the tender or terrible harmonies of Nature, from the most wondrous of human voices, or from any instrument by the cunning of man contrived. You receive them as the peculiar, sole, inevitable language of a rare and most individual genius. His genius to the imagination takes all forms and suggests all images of vitality, power, passion, mirth, joyance, and whim. Sometimes, when in full career, it seems to dash along like a bold rider on a fiery steed, whose mane seems to be the waves, now the rush of flame—now the silver shout or low gurgle of mountain streams—now the dainty car of birds, or the frolicsome "come and go" of the night winds, at play with the summer leaves.

It is not always his grandest and most brilliant passages which move me most deeply and thoroughly. There are notes which he flings from him as of little worth—small, separate melodies—single pebbles of sound, which go ringing down into the depths of the soul, while the slumbering emotions they disturbed, circle on, and go on into the infinite.

Ah! that mellow voice, those quarters indeed, in which to compress such countless wonders and delights—as rare as a marvel as the miraculous pitcher of Jove, or that *petite boîte* of Pandora, which once imprisoned all the woes and pestilences of the world. "That sweet voice," you cannot believe it, in the hand of Ole Bull, a mere thing of wood and horse-hair—more like it seems to the wand of an enchanter, with which he charms and conjures forth the obedient music. The look and manner of Ole Bull, while he is playing, are peculiarly active and graceful. He has little action, but it is of the most delicate and monious. His tall, symmetrical form sways to his music, like a young tree to the breath of the wind, and his fine face is ever a glow with the high joy of the poet and the artist. He has that peculiar northern warmth, which is the most bright and beautiful of all, that it is kindled among snows—like the ruddy fire-side glow, shining through cottage windows on a winter's night. Finally, you are as entirely satisfied with the man as with the artist, and readily receive him as a worthy master and interpreter of the divine mysteries of music.

On the 26th inst. a grand painting of "Washington crossing the Delaware," now being exhibited in the rotunda at the Capitol, is attracting much attention, and eliciting much praise. And it is a noble work. I think I never saw a picture so gloriously alive in every figure, in every point, in every line, in every design and execution—but no extravagance, I think, no seeking after dramatic effect. It is vividly, but not highly colored—thoroughly finished, but nowhere overdone. It would make an enviable frame for the artist, were not that good work already accomplished.

GRACE GREENWOOD.

For the National Era.

A MARCH PROPHECY.

The skies have wept and smiled,
The sun has shined and smiled,
And the little seeds grow wild,
Lying quiet beneath the heather:
So, their God is in the skies;
To his buried world he cries,
Awake! Arise!
'Tis the sweet Spring weather.

On the sun-entranced hill,
By the water-witching rill,
They are rising, strong and still—
Bladed hosts of grass and heather,
There are crocuses about;
March winds have found them out,
With a merry wind about,
For the Spring weather.

In the spirit's longing need,
Making welcome every weed,
In the violet and the reed,
Stepping barefoot together,
In the sun's more generous shine,
In the air as rare as wine,
There are prophecies divine
Of the sweet Spring weather.

CHANGE OF OPINION.—According to one of our exchanges, remarkable changes of opinion have taken place in the minds of Messrs. Fillmore and Cass. The *Albany Journal* says, that in 1842, Mr. Fillmore wrote a strong letter, denouncing Tyler, whose conduct he regarded as "an additional proof that our only security against treachery and inordinate ambition, is found in the one-term principle."

And in 1848, General Cass, accepting the nomination for the Presidency, solemnly announced, "that no circumstances can possibly arise which would induce him to consent again to be a candidate for the Presidency."

Mr. Fillmore now desires to fill the Presidency for a second term, and General Cass is again a candidate! How much men will sacrifice for the public good!

THE TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

By the official statement, the value of articles exported from the United States last year amounted to \$217,517,120, of which there were domestic products to the value of \$178,546,555; domestic gold and silver, \$18,143,163; foreign gold and silver, \$11,088,717; foreign goods exported, \$9,738,695; making an aggregate, as above, of \$217,517,120.

The domestic exports for the same period amounted to \$215,725,995, of which \$4,967,901 were of specie. If we deduct the specie from the gross amount of imports, and also the \$9,738,696 for foreign goods exported, there will remain \$201,019,399, as the value of foreign goods imported into and consumed in this country in the year 1851, against the \$178,546,555 of domestic products which we exported in that year, leaving a balance against us of \$22,472,844. This was bad enough; yet it would have been a great deal worse, but for the advance in the price of raw cotton, which thus swelled the value of our exports, and reduced the balance against us. This and the gold received from California enabled us to meet the cost of our importations; and but for these resources, the one incidental and the other new, how would the industrial and commercial interests of the country have sustained themselves in the crisis which they have had to pass through at the close of the year?—*Baltimore Patriot*.

Well, the fair presumption is, that we want certain articles of clothing and luxury more than we did gold and silver, and therefore we made the exchange. That was a fair business transaction, and the precious metals were used to discharge their legitimate functions. If we had not had them, we might have economized, or furnished ourselves from our own labor, or run in debt. The last process is always a short one, and carries with it its own remedy. People who get in debt, and cannot pay, lose their credit, and must then work or starve. That would be our position, if we should become bankrupt in our trade with Europe. Now it is pretty certain, we should prefer thrift and labor to starvation. So much for that.

Another thought about this balance of trade. A merchants' ship at New York a cargo worth a hundred thousand dollars, exchanges it in a

foreign port for a new cargo, which he sells in another at a large advance, and brings back, as the final proceeds, a cargo worth one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand dollars. Here the import may double the export, showing a balance against us of a hundred thousand dollars, when, in fact, that is a real balance in our favor.

STATE CONVENTIONS.

WHIG CONVENTION OF LOUISIANA. The Louisiana State Whig Convention, held March 15th and 16th, unanimously recommended Fillmore for the Presidency and Crittenden for the Vice Presidency, and passed resolutions in favor of Internal Improvements, Protection, and the finality of the Compromise, and against Intervention. The resolutions on the last two topics are as follow:

Resolved, That our mission as a Republic is not to propagate our opinions or impose on other countries our form of Government, by artifice or force; but to teach by example, and show, by the superior wisdom, moderation, and justice, the blessing of self-government and the advantages of free institutions.

Resolved, That we regard the series of measures known as the Compromise measures as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the exciting subjects to which they refer; and that, as such, they should be faithfully adhered to and executed.

WHIG CONVENTION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

This Convention assembled at Harrisburg on the 25th March, and was controlled entirely by the supporters of General Scott. It passed resolutions in favor of Brotherly Love, Protection, the Constitution of the United States, Union, Gen. Scott, Mr. Fillmore, and ex-Gov. Johnston; but of the *Compromise and Fugitive Law* it had not a word to say, directly or indirectly.

Scott was unanimously recommended for the Presidency, and Scott delegates were appointed to the National Whig Convention—ex-Governor Johnston, who would not consent to allow to slave-catchers the use of the jails of Pennsylvania, heading the delegation.

The Convention recommended that the National Whig Convention meet on the 17th June, at Philadelphia.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA.

It met in Richmond on the 19th March, and was a full Convention, in which every part of the State was represented. A struggle sprang up in the early part of the session, on some preliminary question, between "Young Democracy" and the "Old Fogies," the result of which showed the former to be in the ascendant. The Convention expressed no preferences in relation to the Presidency; but it is claimed that a majority favored the pretensions of Douglas. The resolutions adopted are accommodating and evasive on all questions except those relating to the Public Lands and Protection. On the latter, they are hostile to the policy of the Pennsylvania Democracy, on the former, to the policy of the Democracy of the West. As showing the notions of Progress, popular with the Virginia Democracy, we have a re-affirmation of the resolutions of 1798 and 1799:

1. That the true relations between the States and the Federal Government, and the true rules for the more bright and honest conduct of the Union, are correctly set forth in the resolutions and report of 1798 and '99, of the General Assembly of Virginia, and the doctrines therein expounded are hereby adopted and reaffirmed.

2. That Congress has no power to appropriate directly or indirectly the proceeds of the sale of the public lands, or to grant aid to any indirectly the public lands to the purposes of internal improvement.

3. That specific duties, taxing as they do the low-priced necessities of the poor as heavily as the costly luxuries of the rich, are unequal, unjust, and odious; that duties designed for protection foster one branch of industry, and cherish one section of the country, at the expense of others, and are utterly inconsistent with justice, sound policy, and Democratic Principles; and that we are opposed to any increase of the duties on imports, especially on articles of general and necessary consumption, such as iron, coal, sugar, salt, and coarse cottons.

4. That the Federal Government ought to adhere in its foreign policy to the maxims inculcated by the Father of his Country, and by the Father of Democracy.

5. That we reaffirm the resolutions of the Baltimore Convention of 1844 and 1848, as far as applicable to the present condition of the country.

6. That we recommend to the Democracy of the several Congressional Districts, to send each not more than four delegates to the Baltimore Convention.

7. That we approve of the mode of voting heretofore pursued by the Virginia delegates in the Baltimore Conventions, and recommend that they continue the rule of casting the vote of the whole State by a majority of the districts.

8. That the vote of the State in the Baltimore Convention ought to be given for such candidate as will command the greatest strength in the Democratic party throughout the Union, and whose principles are known to conform most strictly to the cardinal tenets of the Democratic Republicanism.

It is remarkable that the Compromise and Fugitive Law are treated with silent contempt. Not a syllable is breathed respecting them. This is extraordinary, when it is considered that the Washington Union, Messrs. Cobb and Foote, and the Democracy of Kentucky and Tennessee, have insisted on making the recognition of their finality a test of political orthodoxy.

The Union smooths over the matter as kindly as possible:

"No allusion was made to the legislation of the last Congress disposing of the Territorial and slavery questions—it being doubtless considered by those Convention that no issue is now pending which can put the double attitude of Virginia on these questions. It has been long since settled that Virginia did not participate in any of the movements which were designed to organize opposition to the measures of Compromise, thus setting an example which had a happy influence on the other members of the Union."

That will do for a "come-off!" The resolution re-affirming the Baltimore resolutions of 1844 and 1848 is very accommodating. It re-affirms them, "so far as applicable to the present condition of the country"—that is, as it is not Abolitionists, but Pro-Slavery men, who are interfering with questions of Slavery, by efforts to extend the evil, and keep it up under Federal jurisdiction, the resolution of 1844 against the interference of Abolitionists or others with questions of Slavery, is now re-affirmed as being applicable to the "others"—the Pro-Slavery Party!

Dr. Townsend, when he made his ingenious speech on this point, did not expect to find himself sustained so soon by the Democracy of the Old Dominion.

To the Editor of the National Era:

In the *Era* dated March 4 I observe some extracts from the writings of Orestes A. Brownson. In these extracts are exhibited some principles which he now maintains, as well as some which he represented as having maintained in 1840. Some of these principles are briefly as follows: That "Jesus instituted himself no priesthood—no form of religious worship." That "he preached no formal religion, enjoined no creed, set apart no day for religious worship." That he (Brownson) "objects to everything like an outward, visible church." This "there must be no class of men set apart and authorized, either by law or fashion, to speak to us in the name of God, or to be the interpreters of the Word of God." These are specimens of the principles that you say he maintained in 1840.

In your editorial remarks you say, "We are willing to stand on the platform of Mr. Brownson in 1840, although he has abandoned it." You too had better abandon it, for no platform can long be supported by such corrupting materials. "Such doctrines as these have never been popular in the United States, and we trust they never may be." For "how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent?" But to whom would Christ instituted no form of religious worship, as they were read. The telegrapher from this point has grossly perverted the truth in relation to the treatment of Kossuth and the popularity of his cause in this city. And yet on such villainous fabrications the *Republic* bases its charges against Kossuth.

"What the *Republic* says in relation to Kossuth's altering his speeches for the press, is utterly untrue, so far as the speeches in this city are concerned. The speeches were read, and were printed as they were read. The telegrapher from this point has grossly perverted the truth in relation to the treatment of Kossuth and the popularity of his cause in this city. And yet on such villainous fabrications the *Republic* bases its charges against Kossuth."

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